The Southern PATRIOT

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Southern Trends: Review of the Month

The center of the civil rights struggle moved again to Washington, with several pieces of civil rights legislation certain to come to debate in Congress early in the new session. (See story, this page, on Washington hearings designed to stimulate interest in federal voter registration laws.)

Civil liberties won one important victory in Alabama, where the State Court of Appeals set aside the six-months jail sentence of a Birmingham minister, the Rev. Calvin Woods. Mr. Woods was arrested last year under an old anti-boycott law on charges of urging his congregation to stay off segregated buses. The Court of Appeals said the law had been repealed seven years ago.

Meantime, two federal court rulings in Birmingham opened the way for new efforts to integrate buses. (See story this page.)

On the school front, gradualism won again, as the Supreme Court refused to review a lower court decision upholding the Nashville grade-a-year plan which the NAACP challenged as too slow. In Atlanta, the school crisis moved into the legislature, as the save-the-schools movement sought legislation to permit Atlanta to begin token integration without school closing.

Desegregation was due to begin in January in Floyd County, Virginia, the first instance in the mountainous southwestern part of that state.

Also in Virginia, the NAACP was under new attack, with the state making a renewed demand for membership lists—this time under an old 1924 State Corporation Commission law.

Mississippi Hearing

Ax Is Sharpened

By CARL BRADEN
(SCEF Field Secretary)

JACKSON, Miss.—The White Citizens Council and some members of the State Legislature recently conducted a hearing designed to show that any person or group favoring integration is seeking to overthrow the government.

The hearing laid the groundwork for laws to cripple the NAACP, SCEF, the Southern Regional Council, or any other organization working to end segregation and discrimination in Mississippi.

The Citizens' Council said: "Among the laws contemplated is one which will open membership records of the NAACP to state authorities." NAACP members would then be subject to loss of jobs and homes, beatings, bombings, and other harassment.

The hearing in the House chamber at the State Capitol here was masterminded by the leader of the Citizens Council, W. J. Simmons. The actual inquiry was conducted by members of the General Legislative Investigating Committee.

Chief witness was J. B. Matthews of New York, self-styled Communist hunter. He has been testifying before bush-league committees in the South since the late Senator McCarthy fired him for getting too zealous. After Matthews testified in Jackson, the *Birmingham News* said his "opinions and conclusions are not to be taken at face value."

Matthews told the Mississippi legislators that dozens of people connected with the integration movement are subversive or associated with subversive organizations. Among them he listed Hodding Carter, publisher of the Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Miss.

Carter promptly called Mat-

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Freedom Loses

Two recent court actions, limiting civil liberties, critically threaten the movement for integration.

In New Hampshire, Willard Uphaus, a Christian pacifist, was sent to jail for contempt because he refused to give the State attorney-general names of persons who attended conferences at World Fellowship in Conway, N. H., which he directs.

The attorney general said he was looking for "subversives." Uphaus based his refusal on "my loyalty to God, the Bill of Rights, and my conscience." The ruling sets a precedent for Southern states seeking NAACP membership lists.

In another case, the Federal Court of Appeals in New Orleans upheld the contempt conviction of Carl Braden, SCEF field secretary, who refused to cooperate with the House Un-American Committee's investigation of Southern integrationists. This ruling, which also opens the way to more harassment in the South, will be appealed.

Birmingham Negroes Act

Birmingham Negroes, at a recent mass meeting of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, announced that henceforward they would ignore segregation signs on buses and in train and bus waiting rooms.

The action followed Federal court rulings in ACMHR suits challenging segregation practices on city buses and in the Terminal Railroad Station.

The rulings themselves were negative, since the courts said, in effect, that discrimination had not been proved. However, the court also declared that city police were in error in arresting 2 Negroes who sat in the "white" Terminal waiting room in 1956 and 13 Negroes for ignoring bus segregation in 1958.

"We take this to mean that segregation practices by transportation companies are not enforceable," said the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, ACMHR president and an SCEF board member.

The ACMHR said in a resolution: "We reject any suggestion . . . that we voluntarily accept segregation."

For a Free Franchise

Washington Hearing Set

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Southern Negroes deprived of the vote will tell their stories at a public hearing here January 31.

The event is designed to stimulate public interest in passage of legislation to authorize Federal voter registration procedures where local registrars persist in discriminating against Negroes.

Sponsors of the hearing include Tuskegee Civic Association, headed by Dr. Charles G. Gomillion; Southern Christian Leadership Confernce, of which Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is president; United Christian Movement of Louisiana, led by Dr. C. O. Simpkins; Southern Conference Educational Fund, of which Aubrey W. Williams is president; National Fraternal Council of Churches, U.S.A., Inc., headed by the Rev. W. H. Borders; Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, led by the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, and Montgomery Improvement Association.

Witnesses from the South will tell their stories before a panel of six prominent citizens serving as a volunteer Civil Rights Commission. Panel members will be:

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam; Former Governor Theodore McKeldin of Maryland; Branch Rickey; Bishop George W. Baber, president of the Council of Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church; Angela Bambace, a vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and manager of the union's Upper South Department; and Bishop Edgar A. Love, of the Baltimore Area, Methodist Church.

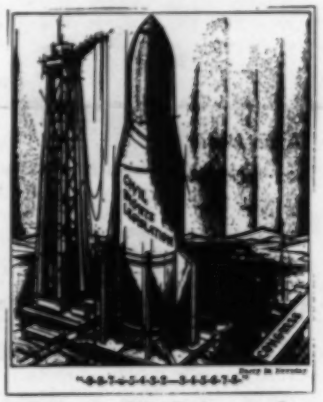
Dr. Charles G. Gomillion will serve as staff director of the volunteer commission. Staff counsel will be Belford V. Lawson, former president of the American Council on Human Rights and now general counsel of the National Business League.

The hearings were planned because the official U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is presently barred from holding further hearings on voting rights violations in the South by a Federal court ruling in Louisiana last summer.

Witnesses before the volunteer civil rights commission January 31 will include some of the Louisiana Negroes who had prepared to testify at the thwarted hearings in Shreveport. Other witnesses deprived of the vote will come from Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida, and possibly Tennessee.

Come and Hear

The Washington hearing will begin at 3:30 Sunday afternoon, January 31, at Asbury Methodist Church, Eleventh and K Streets N. W. Readers in D. C., Maryland, Virginia, and other nearby states are urged to attend.



THIS IS WHAT happened to civil rights legislation last year. Don't let it happen again. Communicate with your senators and congressman.

A Southern Profile

Lawyer Crusades for Justice

(By Staff Correspondent)

PENSACOLA, Fla.—John Moreno Coe ranks high among lawyers who fight for the rights of minority groups in the South. He is also a national figure in the struggle for freedom of oppressed people.

But he grew to manhood believing all the myths about white supremacy. To him, it was as natural as breathing that Negroes should be in an inferior position.

As he himself puts it: "I was like the fish that swims in the water and takes its temperature from it."

It was a courtroom struggle in behalf of three Negro men that turned him into a champion of minority rights. That and some ideas planted in his mind by a socialist when he was 16 years old.

John Coe had been born in Pensacola in 1896 with the best of Southern credentials. His father, John Maclay Coe, was a merchant and businessman. His mother was descended from Spaniards who settled the city in 1787.

His great-grandfather, Jesse Coe, fought with Andrew Jackson in the Battle of New Orleans and then settled in Florida. There he set up a plantation and became a slaveholder. His grandfather was a cotton planter and extensive slaveholder who lost everything in the Civil War.

John M. Coe

John was taught by a private tutor until he finished the sixth grade and then attended the public schools. After his father died in 1915, the family business went to pieces.

While working as a clerk in a saw mill, John studied law. He started at 16 and by the time he was 21 he had passed the bar examination and was ready to practice. Instead, he went into the Army after serving several months as secretary to a federal judge.

After World War I, he practiced in Pensacola for 10 years with Philip Dane Beall. These were years in which he showed no particular inclination to cham-

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Photo by Len Holt

FOR THE FIRST TIME in the history of Norfolk, Va., a Negro candidate for public office meets prior to election day with his white opponents, eats with them and debates the issues. He is Joe Jordan (seated center at end of table), write-in candidate for the House of Delegates. The occasion was a luncheon meeting at the Norfolk YWCA, sponsored by the League of Women Voters. Jordan received about 1300 votes and immediately announced he would be a candidate for City Council in the election next June.

The Southern Patriot

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News In Brief

The student government legislative body of Duke University in North Carolina has adopted a resolution urging admission of Negroes as students. The resolution was sent to the Board of Trustees. Students of the Duke Divinity School took similar action a few years ago, but the trustees have remained unmoved.

* * * *

In Mississippi, Mrs. Wallis Schutt, president of the United Church Women of Mississippi, defied the state's White Citizens Council and agreed to serve on the State Advisory Committee of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. The WCC had called on all Mississippians to refuse to serve, saying they would be "traitors" if they did.

* * * *

In New Orleans, two Negro candidates made a remarkable showing in races for the legislature. Revius O. Ortique, Jr., and Lawrence A. Wheeler, both attorneys, each ran second in their respective races with enough votes to put them in a run-off election. In the race for governor, all candidates pledged support to segregation, but the state's arch-segregationist, Willie Rainach, ran third with 143,095 votes. A run-off was slated between New Orleans Mayor de Lesseps Morrison who got 278,956 votes, and former Governor Jimmie Davis who polled 213,551.

* * * *

In Atlanta, the Emory University Student Council polled students on the question: "Should public schools in Georgia be closed to prevent any integration." The answer was "no" by 828 to 143.

* * * *

Asbury Howard, Alabama Negro labor leader, was cleared of conspiracy charges by a federal judge in Denver. Howard had been indicted with officers of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers on charges of conspiring to give false non-communist affidavits. The judge said evidence against Howard was lacking.

* * * *

The American Jewish Congress reported that for the first time in U. S. history, the majority of Americans now live in states with enforceable laws against racial and religious discrimination. Several new laws have been passed this year.

* * * *

In Texas, the AFL-CIO called on all its member locals to remove from their constitutions any provisions that bar anyone from membership because of race. The state body also asked each local to set up a civil rights committee.

* * * *

Among North Carolina Baptists, liberals won a victory when former Congressman C. B. Deane defeated a conservative candidate for the presidency of the Baptist State Convention. Deane was one of three North Carolina congressmen who refused to sign the Southern Manifesto protesting the Supreme Court desegregation decision several years ago. After this he was defeated in a bid for re-election in 1956.

Book Notes

How One Church Pioneered

FOOTPRINTS OF A DREAM, by HOWARD THURMAN, Harper & Brothers, New York, $3.

As a young theological student, Howard Thurman—one of America's greatest religious leaders and a Negro—became profoundly convinced that, despite the complete segregation of the Christian church in that day, "experiences of spiritual unity and fellowship are more compelling than the fears and dogmas and prejudices that separate men."

His chance to try this conviction came in 1944 when he was asked to go to San Francisco and give leadership to a group trying to establish a racially inclusive religious fellowship. The result was the famed Church of the Fellowship of All Peoples, America's first truly interracial church.

It is the story of this church he tells in this book—its problems, its methods of work, its accomplishments and its deep spiritual impact not only on its own members but on "many . . . who never entered its doors."

A PARTY FOR THE CHILDREN, celebrating Christmas-Chanukah, is one of the many activities of the interracial, inter-cultural Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples, described by Dr. Howard Thurman in his new book, "Footprints of a Dream."

Emma Gelders Sterne
Her book dramatizes the unity of mankind.

This could serve as a guide book to other congregations now searching for the experiences in which the San Francisco fellowship pioneered 15 years ago.

BLOOD BROTHERS, by EMMA GELDERS STERNE, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, $3.

Parents who found in Mrs. Sterne's biography of Mary McLeod Bethune a fascinating way to introduce youngsters to a great Negro leader will be grateful for this new book.

Blood Brothers is the story of man's long search for an understanding of blood. The story is told through biographies of four men — starting with William Harvey who discovered the circulation of blood in the 17th Century and culminating with Charles Drew, the American Negro who pioneered in the use of plasma which proved invaluable in World War II.

The book is for the ages of 9 to 12 but most parents will read it with their children. It is a dramatic scientific story. But because Mrs. Sterne is deeply concerned with human relations, it is also a dramatization of the way in which all nations and races must work together to add to the chain of man's on-going knowledge.

'Restate Issue'

The Southern Regional Council, in a recent policy statement, called for an urgent effort to "get the issue of school desegregation out of the courts and into the hands of responsible educators."

It proposed that Southern communities redefine the problem as "How best to educate all our youth?" rather than how to bar Negroes from white schools.

A Letter to the Editor

Memphis Woman Argues for Integration

One person with a pen or a typewriter can cause many people to think.

This happened recently in Memphis when Mrs. Ruth Luening, wife of a Unitarian minister there, wrote a letter to the *Commercial Appeal.*

A previous letter-writer had complained to the paper that the NAACP and the Federal Government were trying to "force" him to "mix" with Negroes. He also said white NAACP members kept their affiliation a secret, so there must be something wrong with it. Another letter-writer said Lincoln favored segregation.

So Mrs. Luening took her pen in hand. We reprint her letter below.

The result, of course, was many hostile telephone calls to Mrs. Luening. But other people agreed with her, and many stopped to think. One white high school boy wrote his own letter to the paper saying the world needed more Mrs. Luenings. At least one woman came to Mr. Luening's church because she approved of the letter.

(Editor's Note: When outstanding letters appear in your local paper, please send them to us so we can share them with others.)

'To Prepare My Children . . . .'

To the Commercial Appeal:

I agree with "Citizen" of Memphis who maintained that the choice of whether or not to "mix" with Negroes should be left to the individual. However, the fact is that under existing conditions, choice is not permitted.

I wish occasionally to eat in restaurants with some of my Negro friends but so far as I know this is impossible (if I am wrong, I hope I'll be corrected). I wish to go to a movie or the library with them sometimes. Especially I wish my children to have the experience of associating with children of every color to prepare them for an intercultural world.

When this becomes possible, it will not compel you, "Citizen," to associate with Negroes any more intimately than you do with the Negro customer near you in the stores. You will still choose your friends, and I shall choose mine, the only difference being that I shall have a wider choice.

Incidentally, I had not heard that any white member of the NAACP was ashamed to have his connection with it known. I can think of no reason for this being so and willingly claim this connection.

I would like to point out, in answer to "A Subscriber," that perhaps Lincoln could not foresee in 1858 the immense potential in the Negro people—he was only human. We must formulate standards of behavior in keeping with our times and only a view which recognizes the equal worth of every individual is consistent with what we know now in 1959.

MRS. RUTH LUENING

Quotations To Remember

"The hope for all that is left of this century in the South is that we may recognize change as the basis for thinking, not sulking."—**Jonathan Daniels,** editor of the Raleigh, N. C. *News and Observer,* at a meeting of the Southern Historical Association.

"How long, how long can the hundreds of thousands of decent white Americans sit silent and passive as the South continues to rape the American constitution and ravish the Holy Word?"—**L. F. Palmer, Jr.,** editor of the Negro weekly, the *Tri-State Defender* at Memphis, in an editorial after he was severely beaten in an unprovoked attack by a white West Memphis policeman.

"The fight of the NAACP is not worth winning if it's for Negroes alone . . . if we don't fight it for everybody, I think we shouldn't win."—**Hubert T. Delaney,** former New York domestic relations judge and NAACP national board member, at a meeting in Newark.

"If Jesus Christ came to Atlanta, it would be inconceivable that He would set up or encourage restrictions which would make it impossible for a person of any race or creed to come into a service of worship which He would hold."—**Dr. O. Norman Sands,** white Atlanta pastor, in a sermon at West End Baptist Church.

"These teachers may impart facts concerning the intricacies of algebra and the evolvement of history but they have declared themselves incompetent to teach children how to live in today's world."—**Richard B. Martin,** Norfolk *Journal and Guide* columnist, commenting on teachers in the private schools set up to avoid integration in Prince Edward County, Va.

The Great Debate

Is Violence Necessary to Combat Injustice?

For the Positive: Williams Says 'We Must Fight Back'

By ROBERT F. WILLIAMS

In 1954, I was an enlisted man in the United States Marine Corps . . . . I shall never forget the evening we (heard) the historic Supreme Court decision that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional . . . .

At last I felt that I was a part of America and that I belonged. That was what I had always wanted, even as a child.

I returned to civilian life in 1955 and the hope I had for Negro liberation faltered . . . . Acts of violence and words and deeds of hate and spite rose from every quarter . . . . There is open defiance to law and order throughout the South today . . . . I have become disillusioned . . .

What Will Deter?

Laws serve to deter crime and protect the weak from the strong in civilized society. Where there is a breakdown of law . . . . where is the force of deterrent? . . . . Only highly civilized and moral individuals respect the rights of others . . . . The Southern brute respects only force. Nonviolence is a very potent weapon when the opponent is civilized, but nonviolence is no repellent for a sadist . . . .

I have great respect for the pacifist, that is, for the pure pacifist . . . . I am not a pacifist and I am sure I may safely say most of my people are not. Passive resistance is a powerful weapon in gaining concessions from oppressors, but I venture to say that if Mack Parker had had an automatic shotgun at his disposal, he could have served as a great deterrent against lynching . . . .

In 1957 the Klan moved into Monroe and Union County (N.C.) . . . . Their numbers steadily increased to the point

Robert Williams

wherein the local press reported 7500 at one rally. They became so brazen that mile-long motorcades started invading the Negro community.

These hooded thugs fired pistols from car windows . . . . On one occasion they caught a Negro woman on the street and tried to force her to dance for them at gun point . . . . Drivers of cars tried to run Negroes down . . . . Lawlessness was rampant . . . . instead of cowing, we organized an armed guard . . . . On one occasion, we had to exchange gunfire with the Klan.

Each time the Klan came on a raid they were led by police cars. We appealed to the President of the United States to have the Justice Department investigate the police. We appealed to Governor Luther Hodges. All our appeals to constituted law were in vain . . .

A group of nonviolent ministers met the City Board of Aldermen and pleaded with them to restrict the Klan from the colored community. The city fathers advised these cringing, begging Negro ministers that the Klan had constitutional rights to meet and organize in the same way as the NAACP.

Not having been infected by turn-the-other-cheekism, a group of Negroes who showed a willingness to fight caused the city officials to deprive the Klan of its constitutional rights after local papers told of dangerous incidents between Klansmen and armed Negroes. Klan motorcades have been legally banned from the City of Monroe . . . .

'Sick Inside'

On May 5, 1959, while president of the Union County branch of the NAACP, I made a statement to the United Press International after a trial wherein a white man was supposed to have been tried for kicking a Negro maid down a flight of stairs in a local white hotel. In spite of the fact that there was an eyewitness, the defendant failed to show up for his trial, and was completely exonerated.

Another case in the same court involved a white man who had come to a pregnant Negro mother's home and attempted to rape her. In recorder's court the only defense offered for the defendant was that "he's not guilty. He was just drunk and having a little fun." . . . A white woman neighbor testified that the woman had come to her house excited, her clothes torn, her feet bare and begging her for assistance; the court was unmoved . . . .

This great miscarriage of justice left me sick inside, and I said then what I say now. I believe Negroes must be willing to defend themselves, their women, their children and their homes. They must be willing to die and to kill in repelling their assailants . . . . Negroes *must* protect themselves, it is obvious that the federal government will not put an end to lynching; therefore it becomes necessary for us to stop lynching with violence . . . .

Taught to Fight

Some Negro leaders have cautioned me that if Negroes fight back, the racist will have cause to exterminate the race . . . . This government is in no position to allow mass violence to erupt, let alone allow twenty million Negroes to be exterminated . . . .

. . . . it is instilled at an early age that men who violently and swiftly rise to oppose tyranny are virtuous examples to emulate. I have been taught by my government to fight . . . . nowhere in the annals of history does the record show a people delivered from bondage by patience alone.

Editor's Note

The great debate in the integration movement in recent months has been the question of violence vs. nonviolence, as instruments of social change. The nonviolent way was brought dramatically to the public consciousness by the successful Montgomery bus protest of 1955-56. The debate, long smoldering under the surface, was precipitated last spring when Robert Williams, Negro leader of Monroe, N. C., made his much-publicized statement that Negroes must "meet violence with violence." Much misunderstanding of both positions has followed. In the opinion of Patriot editors, the most meaningful and enlightening discussion of the issue was presented in the September and October issues of the pacifist publication, Liberation, in the form of articles by Mr. Williams and by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the non-violent movement. We reprint excerpts from both articles here.

For the Negative: King Sees Alternative in Mass Actions

By MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Paradoxically, the struggle for civil rights has reached a stage of profound crisis, although its outward aspect is distinctly less turbulent and victories of token integration have been won in the hard-resistance areas of Virginia and Arkansas.

The crisis has its origin in a decision rendered by the Supreme Court more than a year ago which upheld the pupil placement law. Though little noticed then, this decision fundamentally weakened the historic 1954 ruling of the Court. It is imperceptibly becoming the basis of a *de facto* compromise between the powerful contending forces . . . .

Token integration is a developing pattern. This type of integration is merely an affirmation of principle without the substance of change . . . . Full integration can easily become a distant or mythical goal . . . .

'No Compromise'

The Negro was the tragic victim of another compromise in 1878, when his full equality was bargained away by the Federal Government . . . . There is reason to believe that the Negro of 1959 will not accept supinely any such compromises in the contemporary struggle for integration . . . .

It is axiomatic in social life that the imposition of frustrations leads to two kinds of reactions. One is the development of a wholesome social organization to resist with effective, firm measures any efforts to impede progress.

The other is a confused, anger-motivated drive to strike back violently, to inflict damage . . . . It is punitive—not radical or constructive. The current calls for violence have their roots in this latter tendency.

Here one must be clear that there are three different views on the subject of violence. One is the approach of pure nonviolence, which cannot readily or easily attract large masses, for it requires extraordinary discipline and courage.

The second is violence exercised in self-defense, which all societies, from the most primitive to the most cultured and civilized, accept as moral and legal.

The third is the advocacy of violence as a tool of advancement, organized as in warfare, deliberately and consciously. To this tendency many Negroes are being tempted today.

Violence Confuses

There are incalculable perils in this approach . . . . The greatest danger is that it will fail to attract Negroes to a real collective struggle, and will confuse the large uncommitted middle group, which as yet has not supported either side . . . .

It is unfortunately true that however the Negro acts, his struggle will not be free of violence initiated by his enemies, and he will need ample courage and willingness to sacrifice to defeat this manifestation of violence. But if he seeks it and organizes it, he cannot win.

Does this leave the Negro without a positive method to advance? Mr. Robert Williams would have us believe that there is no effective and practical alternative. He argues that we must be cringing and submissive or take up arms. To so place the issue distorts the whole problem. There are other meaningful alternatives.

The Negro people can organize socially to initiate many forms of struggle which can drive their enemies back without resort to futile and harmful violence . . . . many creative forms have been developed —the mass boycott, sitdown protests and strikes, sit-ins,—refusal to pay fines and

Martin Luther King, Jr.

bail for unjust arrests—mass marches—mass meetings—prayer pilgrimages, etc.

There is more power in socially organized masses on the march than there is in guns in the hands of a few desperate men. Our enemies would prefer to deal with a small armed group rather than with a huge, unarmed but resolute mass of people.

However, it is necessary that the mass-action method be persistent and unyielding. Gandhi said the Indian people must "never let them rest," referring to the British. He urged them to keep protesting daily and weekly, in a variety of ways. This method inspired and organized the Indian masses and disorganized and demobilized the British. It educates its myriad participants, socially and morally.

It is this form of struggle—non-cooperation with evil through mass actions—"never letting them rest"—which offers the more effective road for those who have been tempted and goaded to violence.

Boldness Needed

It needs the bold and the brave because it is not free from danger . . . . It requires dedicated people, because it is a back-breaking task to arouse, to organize, and to educate tens of thousands for disciplined, sustained action.

Our present urgent necessity is to cease our internal fighting and turn outward to the enemy, using every form of mass action yet known—create new forms—and resolve never to let them rest. This is the social lever which will force open the door to freedom.

Our powerful weapons are the voices, the feet, and bodies of dedicated, united people . . . . Greater tyrants than Southern segregationists have been subdued and defeated by this form of struggle. We have not yet used it, and it would be tragic if we spurn it because we have failed to perceive its dynamic strength and power . . . .